THE CITS.

The Improved Capitalist Municipal Party of New York.

BRAZEN FRANKNESS.

The Upper Capitalists, Who Beat Tammany Last Time, Set up this Year Again-Their Attitude Towards Labor-Although the Workers are the Overwhelming Majority affiny Representa-tion is Allowed them, and Ambulances Hospitals and Potter's Fields are the Best Things that are Promised.

The present city of New York-the Greater New York-is not only the capitalist metropolis of the nation, it is also the condensed nation itself. What here happens in the economic and political field is a condensed edition of what either is going on in the country what either is going on in the air large, or will be shortly going on there too. In view of this, the pending Mayoralty campaign in this city is everything but a local affair; it is a national contest. It is now easting its heavy shadows before it, and these are worth studying. We have had three years of "Reform."

The open ulcer of Tammanyism was put aside; in its place we have had the covered ulcer of the "polished" capital-ists themselves in the rôle of active politicians. The revolution herein implied is one that is going on elsewhere in the country. The politician class, to in the country. The politician class, to whom the capitalist class has to pay blackmail for impunity in its factory and other breaches of the law against the workers, is fought by the capitalist class, which wishes to save for itself the bribe it has to pay to the politicinns. In this fight the New York City capitalists were successful three years ago, and thus Temmany was sup-planted.

This year the victorious class of '94 must win again lest it lose all it gained. How to go about it? The tactics it is reserting to should be noted by the whole country; everywhere else these tactics are bound soon to be seen trotted

It goes without saying that without the labor vote our "washed" capitalists can accomplish nothing; this yote has to be lured into their political trap; the bait used in all such cases is that of promises to improve the condition of the workers. Upon these promises the New York "washed" capitalists won last time; since then they have been three years in power; it will not do to simply make promises this year; they have to show some of the good things they have done for the workers in this interval. That is just what they are now straining at; and to their performances on this head it is that attention deserves to be called.

The first thing that these "Citizens"

Union reformers plume themselves upon with the workers is to have given labor recognition" in the re-"given labor recognition" in the re-formers' council. New York is a city with fully 85 per cent. of working people. Now mark the "recognition" that labor has received at the hands of the "reformers." To use their own language: "We have 16 labor men on our committee of 250; this is a very large representation to give the work ing class" !!! Sixteen out of a total o 25), despite the overwhelming majority of the working class in the city. Even if these 16 were really representative workmen, and not a handful of picked queers like Weissmann, White, Tombleson, Thimme, etc., the percentage of representation allowed to labor is significant; it reveals quite clearly the share that these "reformers" hold belongs to labor at the nation's political

The second feather with which the The second feather with which the "reformers" are strutting before the workers is, if anything, still more significant. A committee of reformers is going about the workingmen's district giving stereopticon lectures. On the canvass are thrown the pictures of the blessings that "reform" has bestowed upon the workers. What may these blessings be? Higher wages? Enforcement of factory laws? No, and no again. The blessings are—'tis strange, and yet 'tis true;—''IMPROVED AMBULANCES," in which the workers, mutilated by the breaches of factory laws committed by the "reformers" can be conveyed to IMPROVED HOS-PITALS, to be there practised upon by whippersnapper medical students, and from where, if these students fail to cure, the workers are conveyed to IM-PROVED POTTER'S FIELDS. improved "ambulances," "hospitals" and "potter's fields" are blessings that labor should be proud of receiving! How significant is not this brazen frank-

The "Citizens'" political movement has for labor no greater solicitude than it has for the horses, cats and dogs of the capitalist pirates who run it. If horses, cats and dogs had a vote their vote would be courted with promises of laws to prevent cruelty to animals. Surely no master would think of doing anything for these beings on any theory other than that they are animals, and must remain animals. Likewise, when they consider the workers, they pro-ceed upon no theory other than that they are there to be fleeced, ridden and used, but that, since these workingmen animals, unfortunately, still have a vote, they must be promised and given good stables and the like—but never to be thought of as human beings, the children of the Nineteenth Century, with powers, rights and capabilities equal to any other.

A SOLID LINK.

The First Socialist Section of Farmers Formed Through Hard Blows.

SOULEVILLE, Neb., June 2.-With this month begins the second year of the existence of Section Souleville. Its history is well worth this little sketch.

We have had to stand and have stood all sorts of tests, and more especially during the last six months the condition of the Section was very critical; it looked as though dissolution was unavoidable, but things improved gradually: the end of this period of transition has now been reached.

The Section has lost in size but gained in solidarity, and within the next three months we shall succeed in unloading all Socialists in name, free silver and would-be Socialists.

In order to get rid of these so-called members, it was resolved at the last meeting that the secretary notify all members over four months in arrears to pay their dues or inform the Section as to the cause of their non-payment, those not complying to be dropped from

Since there never before was a Sec tion composed exclusively of farmers. we can regard Section Souleville as an exception to a rule, or as an important step forward towards Socialism.

We certainly can regard the Section as a link in the chain that has stood the test and upon which we can depend in the future. Although farmers, and as such compelled to participate in exploitation under the present system, out members, as clear-headed Socialists, conscious of the aims of the movement, can welcome the downfall of the present order of society.

During this year facts have here shown the correctness of the theory that the economic development tends to force men toward Socialism when all other means fall, because the members of our Section, though intelligent men, belong to the lower strata of the middle class. and are almost on the very borders of the working class or prolet-

This is a fact that should be well This is a fact that should be well kept in mind by all Comrades, so that no time will be wasted in trying to preach Socialism to well-to-do farmors, as that would be throwing pears to swine, but where the current of economic development washes the ground from under the farmer, there it is time

IN FORT WAYNE.

Recklessness of Capitalist Politicians Greed of Baker Bosses.

FORT WAYNE, Ind., June 8 .- A frightful accident threw the inhabitants of our town into consternation on the 24th of last month, and took from four already sufficiently straitened families their breadwinner and sup-

A number of workingmen were busy on the Lakeside laying water pipes under the superintendence of the Inspector of Waterworks. In the course of their work they dug a ditch and were just engaged in broadening and deepening the same, when one of them suddenly noticed that the land began to slide. He gave the alarm, and the men, with the exception of four, managed to run away. The others remained buried alive.

The fearful misfortune that has so heavily struck the families of the four victims is the direct result of the recklessness or unconscionable conduct of the inspector, a conduct that may truly be branded as criminal. It is incredible how any one, charged with the superintending of this work, could allow so deep and narrow a ditch to be dug on such weak ground without the precaution of shoring up the walls; such an act can have been committed only by that scourge of the Fort Wayne workers, Iten, a man with the soul of a slave driver.

There are witnesses who declare to have heard the workmen raise loud protests against going to work in the ditch, and to have pointed to the im-minent danger, but this notwithstanding, they were ordered by Iten to go to

The question now is, Will the Coroner's inquest submit the accident to a thorough examination, and call the guilty politicians to account?

Another event took place on that 24th of May that should be noted. On that day, upon order of their union, all the bakers in the city laid down their work because the bosses refused to pay union wages. The union scale of wages demands \$13 a week for the foreman, \$12 for the first and \$11 for the other journeymen. The union also establishes that 10 hours shall constitute a work day, and overtime shall be paid for extra. The bakers also demanded that only one apprentice shall be allowed to and that he must be dis charged before others are laid off. these demands met with strenuous opposition on the part of the bosses. Neither side would yield, and the re-sult was the present strike.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

A WARNING

Against the Duodecimo Edition of the New Jerusalem, Known as the "Debs Plan".

Fellow Tollers:-The conditions by which we are confronted may well appall us. Starvation threatens us in the midst of the plenty which our labor has produced, but which we do not pos-Every increase of productive power serves but to heighten the suffer, ings of our class. With instruments of production at hand whose output might be made to satisfy every conceivable need of human wellbeing, with arms ready to work them, yet are the avenues of labor barred to us, while we halt in impotent idleness. In our des-peration we are assailed with contemptible gibes, called the unfit, taunted as shiftless, lazy, drunken beggars. We are to-day a disherited class, in

abject dependence upon that other—the capitalist class, which is in absolute and arrogant possession of our common and arrogant possession of our common heritage, the land and machinery, the instruments of production and distri-bution. Through control of these they are the masters of our very lives. The wage scrap they proffer when wanting our labor is measured by the necessities of our fellows, competing with us for a chance to exist. All that we produce is theirs. When our labor has filled their storehouses to overflowing, we are turned off to starve, while they seek new markets in which to realize on that which they have filehed from us. They are mere gamblers in our pro-The fruits of our labor are squandered in the vain extravagances, the sensual debaucheries with which they flaunt our miseries.

Such conditions cannot endure. Self-

preservation demands that we gain possion of these instruments of production, that they may be freely used for the satisfaction of human needs, and not monopolized for the gratification or

individual greed.
For this end is the Socialist Labor party organized. It represents in Amer ica that organized international move-ment which, throughout the world, stands boildly, uncompromisingly face to face with capitalism. It aims to arouse the working class to an intelli-gent consciousness of its rights and power; to give cohesion and strength to its efforts; to give direction to its aspirations by making clear its mission in the development of humanity.

Socialism is not a theory. Socialism is not a plan that is to be set in operation apart from or outside of the existing organization of society. Socialism is that growth, that logical development out of present conditions, which must result when through their experience and sufferings, the workers realize the cause of their subjection as a class to that class which possesses the instruents of production; when they learn to know and feel their distinct class interests; when they awaken to a sense of their overwhelming power; when they assert that power in their own interests, achieve their emancipation, and thereby end the dominance of class.

Imperfect comprehension of this fun-damental distinction explains the fre-quency with which well-meaning per-sons, aroused by their sympathics to zeal for your betterment, propose elab-orate schemes, "duodecimo editions of the New Jerusalem," which they seek to have realized experimentally as obto have realized experimentally as object lessons for your instruction. But progress moves of necessity within the limits of existing conditions. These plans, by the very attempt to escape conditions, deprive themselves of the vital forces which are shaping the development of society. Their failure is therefore invitally.

But the capitalist press eagerly exploits these futile schemes, foreordained to failure. It points to them as examples of Socialism put in practice. It widely heralds their breakdown. Brands their failures as the failure of Social-ism, and holds them up for the dis-couragement of your just aspirations. Blind to the limitations of such

efforts, untaught by the experience and failures of the past, some men to whom you have looked for leadership and gujdance, distrustful of your own strength, are to-day offering you, "in the name of Socialism," another of these schemes into which society is to be made to fit.

. For this reason it becomes necessary for the Socialist Libor party to em-phatically repudiate all such plans, its

bhatteatly repudiate all such plans, its duty to warn you earnestly of their futility, lest in your extremity you should grasp at this wisp of straw.

These people have dragged you through the wilderness of Populism into the slough of silver, and now by a mirage of false hopes they would lead you into a thorny desert of woodstray. you into a thorny desert of utopianism They are seriously proposing to you scheme of migration, for the con-

quest of the political machinery of one of the smaller States, whereupon a fullfledged co-operative commonwealth is to be established therein. Be not deluded by the vain hope that

the capture of some out of the way corner of capitalist government will provide an adequate haven of refuge. Capitalism and a thorough co-operative commonwealth could not exist side by commonwealth could not exist side by side under one government. They are irreconcilable and mutually destruc-tive. The necessities of capitalism would compel it to use the higher power would compet it to use the nigher power, of the national government, which it would still control, for the repression of your efforts within the limits of mere makeshift palliatives. See how to-day it even stoops to crush out the vestiges of the old company life arrows the the old communal life among the

Indian tribes.

With its development hemmed in by the judicial and military powers of gov-

ernment-the political arm of capitalism—the new commonwealth must at the same time encounter the whole economic power of capitalism, cannot escape that fierce conflict in which today whole nations are bankrupted.

What chance would it have in such a struggle! On one side, capital thoroughly equipped with all the forces of modern production. On the other, a little community without capital, abso-lutely without equipment for the struggle. Who can doubt the outcome? Yet those who propose to you such grotesque and tragic folly would have you believe that they alone are practical—all others theoretical dreamers.

They would ask us to abdicate our

right to the wealth we have already created, to abandon to the capitalist that perfected equipment for produc-tion which is ours by right. They would counsel us to seek success in flight, and set up our commonwealth in a corner. No wonder the capitalist looks on and laughs.

The Socialist Labor party warns you sgainst the commission of such a folly. Keep clear of this movement, which appeals to your discontent rather than your intelligence, and can end only in disaster and discouragement. At this stage of the conflict we can afford to

nake no false moves. There can be no solution which is not commensurate with the conditions. To he a success, the co-operative common-wealth must be practically self-contained, self-sufficing; and that it cannot be on less than a national scale. Such is the inter-dependence, so interwoven are all parts of the modern industrial system, so closely does the world-wide system, so closely does the world-wide process of exchange touch every moment of our lives, that IT IS MORE PRACTICAL TO REVOLUTIONIZE THE WHOLE THAN A PART.

Out of these conditions the true cooperative commonwealth must grow. It will not abandon them. It will utilize that have of cooperative pro-

utilize that basis of co-operative pro duction which is developing within capitalism itself, while at the same time changing its character through co-operative ownership of the instruments of production.

The realization of that co-operative

ownership must be the goal of our cores. The road to it is straight, There are no short cuts. Fifty years ago Marx and Engels raised the banner of international Socialism and blazed the way, proclaiming that "the FIRST STEP in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, * * *
The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest * * all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i. c., of the prote-tariat organized as the ruling class."

The working class is already an overwhelming majority, and needs but the confidence to assert itself. It is the only class which is growing in strength recruited by the disintegration of the

middle class through the concentrative forces of capitalism.
Unite, then, with the Socialist Labor party, which stands boldly for your class interests at the polls. Use your

ballots as weapons for the conquest of your liberties, for the assertion of that supremacy which should be yours.

Why, when you resort to such economic schemes you are little better than an unarmed mob. You are attacking capitalism on its own ground, in its strongest citade! Capital can afford to strongest citadel. Capital can afford to

But when, conscious of your power, you vote the Socialist ballot, you attack vulnerable point. political field you meet it as an equal: yes, as its master. Here is the natural training ground for the class-conscious organization of your forces. The growth of the Socialist vote is the measure of your progress, every in-crease a step towards the realization of your purpose

The Socialist Labor party does not seek your support through fake promises, or by raising vain hopes. You emancipation must be the work of your own hands. Seek not after leaders. Let the necessities of your class be your guide, the advancement of your class

your one endeavor.

Join with us in the effort to wrest from the capitalist class that posses-sion of the instruments of production which is the secret of our enslavement as a class. Back of us is the proletariat of the world, organizing in the struggle against international capitalism. Th progress is our progress. In their vic-tories we shall conquer. Socialism is the one intelligent power whose growth is the terror of capitalism. LET ITS FEARS TEACH YOU WHERE TO STRIKE.

On to the polis for your emancipa-

Strike with the ballot for control of e means of life! Vote for the Socialist Revolution!

SECTION CHICAGO, SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

McKinley pictures begin to be torn down in the factories by angry workingmen who last November voted for him in the confidence that he would bring about prosperity, This would seem progress, provided these same men do not turn around and vote for Bryan or Bryanism next time, whereupon they will have another picture to tear down for their pains.

McKinleyism or Bryanism both stand for lower wages.

IS LABOR A CRIPPLE?

The Labor Fakir's Reason For His Ex-istence, Salary, Job and Drinks.

A Home Run.—Trade unions, rela-tively speaking, are to labor what crutches are to the legless man. The

crutches are to the legless man. The vile cur who says trade unions are no good, would rob a cripple of his means of locomotion.—Cigarmakers' Journal. WASHINGTON, D. C., June 7.—The above is a clipping from a local "pure and simple" sheet which could very well father the logic and acumen of such an assinine defense of "pure and simplesm". With it though it is not simplesm".

simpleism." With it, though, it is not necessary to deal; an examination of the statement or statements contained

the statement or statements contained in the clipping will do.

So labor is legices! That mighty part of humanity, that according to Gompers, McKinley, McGuire, Bryan and Lennon, produces all our wealth, and is entitled to its just (?) share, the power that makes the world go round is a "cripple and needs crutches!" At lest we are aware of the cause of the last we are aware of the cause of the tender solicitude and watchful care in behalf of labor displayed by the gentlemen referred to. We can now feel assured that we are not the great and mighty force we were said to be. It is not so; we are a lot of mutilated unfortunates, who need crutches. Crutches cost money; they need repairing, especially their throats-if they have such a thing—and the one who says we are not cripples, maimed and unfortunate, is a cur!!! (Please roll the "r."). It is simply

All our expectations of one day achieving our salvation will now disappear in thin air. How can a cripple achieve anything without crutches? We must have them even if we lose an arm, and the man who says we are not and the man who says we are not cripples, and do not need crutches, is a cur-r-r. Selah, I have spoken! If the "pure and simple" gang wished to knowingly give themselves away,

they could not have made a break. They should see to it that the skin covering their elongated auricular organs does not get loose; to make as-surance doubly sure, they should go further and put a padlock on their jaws so that their bray do not get loose and startle the country. That last suggestion is well meant; if followed out, Mr. Lennon would not, in referring to history, speak of "way back in the perioclades of Greece," and would thereby do himself proud. To get down to common, "practical" sense: If labor is legless, who or what

has made it so? If labor is a cripple who or what made it so? The answer comes back that labor is not a cripple is not legless, but the labor fakir has done and is doing his best to make labor legless, and is now, and has been acting as crutches, with the emoluments of that position, to labor deluded, and now that labor is becoming sensible to use this same labor fakir, pushed to despair at actual and prospective loss of po-sition, knowing full well also that his former attitude of half bully-half sycophant unfits him for any position at sensible labor's hands, alternately wails and curses at his hard fate, while his late followers, termed by him cripples, awakening to the fact that they have legs, are using them to put as much distance between themselves, and, indistance between themselves, and, incidentally, their money and him aspossible. The fakir, to the contrary
notwithstanding the OLD trades
unionism IS A FAILURE, and the one
who says so is not a cur. Any form or
labor organization which considers its
members "legless" and "cripples" is a
standing indictment of itself. Across
its banner, in large letters, are the
words: "This is meant to be a failure,"
which he who runs may read, and those which he who runs may read, and those who lead are filling the position or curs. To gain concessions for a body of cripples requires the ability to fawn at greatness and bully littleness. The two chief characteristics of a cur are those of cowardice and bluster. Take notice of the fawning displayed by Gompers then see them terrifying some insignificant little business man with their bluster about their 1,000,000 mem-bers. After doing so, is it necessary to say who is the cur?

Labor is not a cripple and does not need crutches. What it needs is to know that it is the only part of humanity with "legs," and that it has only to use them to go where it should, into the co-operative commonwealth.

It has only to know that it is not alone supporting itself, but every other part of humanity, and the reason it is not free is because it has allowed itself to be kept on its knees with the greater part of its "legs" out of sight by these same gentry who are now shouting "cur." In the words of the Irish Socialist: "The great appear great because we are on our knees; let us rise!" and when we do rise we will find ourselves not legless and crippled, but far and away superior to all others.

ARTHUR KEEP.

The paperhangers are now to "gone for." From Theresa, N. Y. comes word that Emmett Cooper, of that town, has perfected a machine for putting paper on walls. He has been working on his invention since last October. He has a few experiments yet to make before his machine will be ready for the market. It puts on the paste, trims one or both edges from one-fourth to two inches, and cuts it one-fourth to two inches, and cuts it the proper length. It works close to a door or window frame, but lacks the width of the trimming of getting into the corners of the rooms. It will weigh nearly five pounds without paste or paper. Mr. Cooper has long had a local reputation as an inventor. His gang cheese-presses were in use for some time. He invented a successful type-writing machine and other articles. He is an indefatigable worker, and his last is an indefatigable worker, and his last invention is the result of arduous labor and industry. But let Mr. Cooper also look out. Capitalism robs both the worker of his hire and the inventor of the product of his genius.

GOING HIGHER.

Socialist Alderman Shoots

Straight at a Governor.

MAGUIRE AT WORK.

Comrade Maguire, Finding that his Work on the Board of Aldermen in Paterson is Impeded by the Malfeasance in Office of Governor Griggs Recommends that Griggs be Removed from an Offending State Committee— The Board is Startled by such Unheard of Daring.

PATERSON, N. J., June 8.-Gover-

nor John W. Griggs was the shining mark for the sharp Socialist stilletto, which Alderman Maguire has often used with great power in puncturing platitudes and piercing rottenness. For several years the intrepid Socialist of the Eighth Ward has insisted that not only were city assessments unequal but in many instances land speculators and companies refused to pay taxes. The Socialist Alderman pointed out that by manipulation of officials, streets have been laid out, improved, curbed and guttered, and the assessments allowed to pile up against the property, awaiting compromise agreement with the city through the Martin Act Commission, or the advent of a possible purchaser. Meanwhile the city is borrowing from the banks, and the interest account increases yearly to more formidable pro-portions. Governor Griggs, George V. De Mott, of Clifton, and Watts Cooke, commissioners appointed by Judge Dixon, have been requested several times to send in their report and con-tinue action on delinquent taxpayers accounts. They have ignored any action taken by the city fathers, and rest se-cure in the fact that the court alone could terminate their labors. Alderman Maguire bitterly attacked their inanition and the condition of their records on more than one occasion, and the climax came last week when the Finance Committee, which is headed by Maguire, formally agreed to request the Board of Aldermen to adopt a resolution asking the Judge of the Circuit Court to depose Governor Griggs, Cooke

Court to depose Governor Griggs, Cooke and De Mott, and appoint a new and lively outstanding commission so that taxes might be collected.

Alderman Maguire opened by referring to the statement made by Governor Griggs in his address to business men concerning the proposed sinking fund, and recommending the appointment of men for life terms independent ment of men for life terms, independent of the Board of Aldermen to govern such a fund. Governor Griggs' action showed that he would stand by the big capitalists. The Governor and his commissioner had refused to act, and the aldermen and the tax receiver were powerless to act until the Martin Act Commissioners had done their duty. It appeared that the commission was appointed for an indefinite period, and was subject only to supervision of a Circuit Court Justice. The life term with dictatorial power, might sound well before "business men," but even when the "great intellect of Governor Griggs was retained to wrestle with the problem it did not seem to work in practice. The city debt was piling up because a parcel of land sharks were waxing fat upon the life blood of the municipality, while the bank presidents waxed wealthier and raked in their infunds, while the people's burden steadily increased. The blame for this condition of affairs, said Alderman Maguire, should be placed where it belonged, and he was ready to entertain a motion demanding from Judge Dixon the removal of the commissioners, Governor Griggs included.

sensation. With a majority of Socialists on the Board the matter would have taken more tangible form. The working class of New Jersey should promptly come to Maguire's aid and promptly come to Maguire's aid vote all the capitalist rascals out.

LOGROLLING

By Dan Harris and Boss Prince. NEW YORK, June 9 .- Cigarpackers'

Union No. 251 boasts the membership of a Prince-Mr. Sam Prince, and every inch is he a Prince in the dark arts of fakirism. This precious chap has a tenement cigar factory, where he employs and skins from four to ten men. side occupation, Prince is a cigarpacker at Steinecke & Kerr's. Two years ago he joined Union No. 251; his object was to obtain the blue label for his own tenement goods. Secretary Dan Harris granted the label to this man, and this man grants to Harris all the aid that Harris wants to regain his lost job on the Label Committee and otherwise to do Harris' dirty work.

This instance of a tenement cigar boss being a member of a union may serve to explain several things: First, the queer evolution of the union in America; second, the secret why some 'unions' are so violently hostile to the Socialists; and thirdly, how wise it is on the part of the New Trade Unionists to how down to any and every refuse to bow down to any and every-thing that labels itself union, and to fight with might and main this exe-crable system of "pure and simpledom," which is essentially a combine of bosses and fakirs.

Published at 1st William Street, New York,

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Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post office, on April 6th, 1801.



SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED

In lana (Presidential)	. 3,068
a) xwo	. 13,331
In lay2 (Presidential)	. 21,157
n 1894	33,133
In 1896 (Presidential) 3	6,564

I hear the downward beat of wings, And Freedom's trumpet sounding

"Joy to the people!—wee and fear To new-world tyrants, old world Kings!" Whittier.

THE PATRIA CLUB.

Our ruling class claims the right to rule on the ground that it has superior What this superiority intellect. amounts to may be judged from the utopian, rainbow chasing, horse-bythe-tail restraining efforts they are putting forth to keep the people from leaping off the tracks of the present social system. We have enumerated several of these attempts in previous issues. The plan of the Patria Club is the latest that has come to our notice-nor is it the less silly.

The Patria Club is an organization of leading fleecers of labor, who have grown fat under the present industrial dispensation, who fear the fleecees are growing restive, and who have reached the conclusion that the best way to prevent the dire calamity of their having to starve if they don't work is to train the young generation from the kindergarten up to patriotic devotion. In pursuit of this idiotic plan, the Patria Club offered a prize for the best essay outlining a kindergarten course that is expected to clap the blinkers of patriotism to the eyes of the young. and keep them in the traces when grown and full of wool for the capitalist clip.

The Patria Club is ignorant both in theory-and history.

It is ignorant in the theory or the genesis of patriotism when it imagines that the seat of patriotism lies with the fleecees in a section of the human anatomy other than that in which it is located in the anatomy of the fleecers. With the fleecers the seat of patriotism is the stomach. Capitalism fills the capitalist paunch, hence Capitalism is the beloved Fatherland of the fleecers. But the thing that fills the stomach or the capitalist is the very thing that empties that of the proletariat. the same reason that the capitalist dotes patriotically upon capitalism, the proletariat is bound patriotically to detest the thing with ever deepening de-

testation, blinkers or no blinkers. The Patria Club is ignorant of history when it imagines that any amount of blinkers can keep from the head the information imparted to it by the promptings of the stomach. History is full of leading illustrations. If blinkers could do the work of full stomachs Voltaire and Victor Hugo, both brought Jesuit Colleges would have

talked to no purpose. Silly Patria Club!

THE IRISH "PATRIOT" IN AMERICA.

It would seem hard to pick out one nationality of immigrants that produces the vilest specimen of traitors to the immigrants of its own race. And yet hard as the job is, we do not hesitate to pick out the Irish.

Without hardly any exception, the Irish immigrant comes from the downtrodden of Ireland. And yet from among them are seen to rise specimens, who, as soon almost as landed, join here, against their own countrymen, the very class that oppressed them at home.

Of this fact a striking proof is furnished by the conduct of the Irish papers in America. They have set themselves up as the apostles of the down-trodden Irish people, and yet vain have all efforts been to induce any of them to even publish without comment the manifesto of the Socialist Republican party of Ireland. These papers know that their countrymen here of the working class are nothing but voting cattle for the capitalist class, and that the British aristocracy, which they affect to detest, is identical with our own American capitalistsliving, to a great extent, on the sweat of the brow of the Irish workers in America. The manifesto of the Irish Socialist Republican party would help to emancipate the Irish voters here. The Irish papers in America aim at

nothing less than that. The conduct of these Irish traitors goes far to prove how capitalism

sense. The only bond of the proletariat is the bond of their class thralldom. Irish and American, German and French, etc., etc., must pull together and march over the prestrate lies of Irish, American, German, French and other nationalities that capitalism ex-

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

The Cleveland, O., "Citizen," reads a good lesson both to the fakirs who hurl the epithet of "scab" upon the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and upon the greenies, who, being recent arrivals in the country, and generally very little informed on things here, know not how promiscuously the word "scab" has been hurled by the old trade unions at one another, and tremulate when they hear it uttered. The "Citizen" says:

We fail to understand why the Troy 'Advocate" should waste so much of its valuable space in condemning the So-cialist Trade & Labor Alliance. The pure and simplers combat the conten-tion that politics should be studied in the trades union—the position that is also taken by the capitalists—and therefore if the Socialists desire to withdraw and organize upon political as well as industrial lines, that is their privilege, Moreover, if the latter do organize men and women who have backsliders in other unions, or even those whom the stern law of necessity forced to scab, which is not gener-ally true, it is better to have them in than out of a union. We would like to have some authority inform us just how strong any national organization now in existence would be if those who at one time had gone wrong, or were members of some other union or assembly

bers of some other union or assembly, had been debarred from membership.
"Only a few years ago the Knights of Labor claimed exclusive jurisdiction over the laboring people of North America, but that did not prevent the trades union movement from forming The old railway brotherhoods bitterly fought the organization of the American Railway Union, and yet there never was a grander or more popular orde formed on this earth. There are plenty of other precedents that might be cited to add strength to the claims of the S A. for recognition if it were necessary.

If the maxim is correct-and we doubt not but it is-that nothing is beautiful that is not true, then the Cumberland, Md., "Uncle Sam," is not beautiful, being not true, in the following little poetic effusion:

'Tariff for revenue only," they said, And laughed up their sleeves in stealth.

Tariff for robbin' you only," it read, 'To the men who produced all the wealth."

The prima facie beauty of these rhymes is turned into ugliness by the substantial economic untruth that they

If a tariff robs, then no tariff must eave the working class unrobbed. But this is false. Tariff or no tariff, the working class is robbed just the same. The robbery perpetrated upon the working class takes place before the "tariff" or "no tariff" has a chance to affect them. They are robbed in the shop. There they are not allowed to keep more than barely a fourth of what they produce. And this is done in free trade as well as tariff shops. What robs the worker is the capitalist upholders-"tariffers" and "no tariffers"

But does not the tariff rob anybody? Oh, yes: it robs those capitalists who need free trade as the best means to rob the workers. But what is it to us which of the two gangs gets the lion's share of our own hide, if both are engaged in the work of skinning us? Let them fight out their battles among themselves, while we shall fight out our own battle by knocking out both.

The Johnston, R. I., "Beacon's" head cobwebs. It declares:

"You may say what you like about the methodical Englishman, the dreamy German, the hot-headed Frenchman, and the calm and canny Scot, but for pure and unadulterated imagination our wide-awake, energetic American certainly deserves the prize. America is truly a land of immensities. Everything is on a grand and colossal scale but the American powers of imagina-tion are the grandest and most colossal f all. To imagine oneself a freeman little sovereign among a nation of sovereigns, when in reality one is but a miserable slave, subject to the whin and caprice of economic despots, requires powers of imagination of the quires powers of imagination of the most vivid kind. Yet our pushing, shoving, get-there American is quite equal to the occasion. None can sur-pass him in blind worship of the mythical goddess of liberty. As a self-sacri-ficing devotee at the shrine of the dead departed he stands supreme and

The New York "Evening Post" is learning, or, if that is giving it credit for too much sense, it is becoming incautious in its estimate of the metives that animate the loafer class for whom it speaks.

In commenting upon a speech, recently delivered by the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, in favor of enlarging our armaments so as to "secure peace in time of peace," and protect the 'nation's honor," the "Evening Post" observes with astonishing smartness or astonishing naïveté:

"The fact is that 'in time of peace, prepare for war' is a maxim which now chiefly pleases naval contractors and those dependent on them. They are the only class who cannot have too battléship that goes to the bottom, or becomes a hulk owing to her fashion being out of date, shows how necessary more preparation is."

Thus we have the distinct double admission from this apostle of the gold bug wing of the pharisee-bandit class of capitalists:

First-That the aim of their patriotism consists in making money for themselves; and

Secondly-That their morality lies in creating opportunities for selfenrich-

ment by cheating the Government.

'Tis to be hoped that the "Evening Post" may have some more of these outbursts. Possibly, they may cool some of its arder to shoot down the working class and hang the Socialists. If the patriotic capitalists, who are to furnish the Government with the guns and the hemp, are apt to cheat it by providing. useless goods, it may hap that the "shoot-downées" and the "hangees" are found equipped with better weapons. The patriotic ardor of the most patriotic capitalist is sure to sink several degrees before such thoughts.

The Rochester, N. Y., "Socialist" shows the right comprehension of the situation and the right spirit in this parsage:

"All the leading daily papers of the city printed notices of our first appear-

ance last month. "Of course they are fully cognizant of our position and aims, and realize that the mouse has appeared that is going to work long and hard to gnaw to shreds the capitalist net which has so long bound the proletariat lion in cap-

W. T. Johnson, in the Lincoln, Neb. Sate Journal" says:

"The whole Populist outfit is composed of men who have been unhorsed in the competitive struggle and are now trying to get back into the saddle so that they, like the plutocrats, may live by the sweat of other men's brows. The idea of doing justice to the wage slave and lifting him out of his present condition is the thing farthest from the thoughts of Mr. Bryan and his followers, for then these "people's champions would have to quit talking and go to work. The organizers of the gulf road expect to reap large fortunes from the sale of 'uncarned increment' in the shape of town sites along the line. They are merely a lot of schemers who are trying to take advantage of popular dissatisfaction and popular ignorance to make a stake for themselves. Now, as for myself, I would rather pay tri bute to a plutocrat than to a small fry capitalist. The Bryan outfit have made no protest against the robbing of labor through rent, interest and profit. only object to the big fellows doing all the robbing and leaving them to starve or go to work. Please do not mislead your readers into supposing the "Pop" organization is opposed to capitalism."

If "by the whole Populist outfit" Mr. Johnson means the element that ran the Populist party and dictated its policy and program, his observations are sound to the core. Of course, many proletarians helped to swell the ranks of Populism, but they did not give the tone to Populism any more than their fellow wage slaves who are in the protection or free trade or gold camps give the tone to any of these capitalist political concerns. In all such cases the proletariat is used exclusively as food for cannon.

The public is calmly informed by the New York "Tribune," the paper that Greeley founded and Whitelaw Reid confounded, that:

"The Socialistic dream is the im-artial distribution of wealth by a partial distribution of wealth by a central body; but it is only a dream."

Apart from this defective presentation of the aim of Socialism, the statement is interesting in so far as between its lines may be read this view:

"We, capitalists, hold that misery is inevitable; that the working class mus stay down; that the capitalist must stay up. It might be very beautiful if this were not; but all attempts to change this is a vain dream. The capitalist system, together with all that it implies, is eternal."

Indeed, this is the opinion of our ruling class, to whatever subdivisiongold, silver, protection, free trade, or "reform"-they may belong. Those who act with them help to uphold their views. Between all of these and the Socialist movement the line is drawn sharp. Socialism denies both the premises and the conclusions of capitalism; it has demonstrated both to be scientifically false; it has battered to pieces the arguments of capitalism; and it is marching victoriously towards the day when, upon the shattered ruins of "eternal" capitalism it will build a commonwealth where capitalist tenets will be hung in museums alongside of the "eternal" thumbscrew and other such "eternal" monstrosities, to be gazed upon as relics of barbarism.

Professor Richard T. Ely, professor of political economy of the University of Wisconsin, has sent out a request to all organizations of wage-workers in the United States, no matter of what character, to send him copies of all the character, to send him copies of all the literature published by them, such as official organs, labor day journals, statutes, leaflets, agitation material, handbills, posters, etc. All such packages will be received free by express companies. Such matter should be addressed to Reuben G. Thwaites, librarian, State Historical Library, Madison, Wis., and marked "Ely Collection." Professor Ely is the author of "Socialism and Social Reform," "French and German Socialism," also many treatises bearing on economic subjects.

CAPHAL

Its Definition, Its History, Its Scope. The term "capital" has been a subject of interminable discussion in the

ountless treatises on political economy

Are free gifts of nature capital? Is a navigable river part of the "national" capital? And is the knowledge which a railroad president is not even supposed to possess, personal capital? These are some of the profound questions proposed for solution. The economists of the Austrian school, with their unrivalled facility in word-spin-ning, have enormously added to the immense volume of cobwebs already existing. But strange as it may seem, confusion as to the meaning of the term and as to the essence of the thing "capital" prevails not only among the bourgeois and their professed spokes-men, but even among those who ought to know better. I therefore welcomed the article of A. P. Hazell, reprinted in THE PEOPLE of last May 30, . But with all respect for this excellent writer, I regret to state that he has not, to my mind, set the matter in as clear a light as it might be done, as it was done by Marx.

Capital is not a material, natural thing, but an historical, social product. So, too, are money and commodities, but neither money nor commodities are capital. They can exist logically without becoming capital, and they have appeared historically before capital. But both commodities and money be-come capital when they stand, through their owners, in certain social relations vhen they go through a certain movement or circuit.

Historically, the circulation of cap-ital grows out of the circulation of commodities.

When the social division of labor is sufficiently advanced, so that men produce mainly or entirely not for their own use but for the use of others, then men are said to produce commodities and their society is a commodity-producing society. The commodities thus produced must necessarily go through a certain movement or circuit. Producer A, a shoemaker, must sell his product to B, and with the money thus obtained he buys linen from C. product of A has thus gone through the movement: shoes—money—linen; or: commodity-money-commodity. We begin and end with a commodity, and commodities of like value. The end and aim of the transaction is a useful object, a use-value. The shoes were of no use to the shoemaker, but the linen is. This movement is characteristic of commodities, and is therefore called the circulation of commodities. It existed

before capital. But out of this movement there developed (How? veloped (How? does not now concern us) another and contradictory movement, in which A appears on the market -not with commodities, but with money, in which he comes not as a seller but as a buyer. With his money he buys a commodity in order to sell it again. This movement is represented by the formula: money-commoditymoney. It begins and ends with money; and since it begins and ends with qualitatively like things, there can be but one motive in the transaction; the in-crease of money, the recovering of more value than was given. The formula is therefore: money—commodity—more money. This form of circulation is the

circulation peculiar to capital.

We thus see that capital is neither money nor commodities. At one time it is money, at another commodities. It is value changing its form and increasing during the transformation. money and commodities have gone through this characteristic movement they are—capital. We must, however, in mind that capital first appears on the market in the shape of money.

We have assumed throughout that there is no cheating done, that value is exchanged for value, equivalent for equivalent. Whence, then, does the in-crease of value come? It can arise only in one way. The owner of money buys in the market a peculiar commodity, a commodity that is itself the source of all value. He buys the laborer's labor-power at its value, the cost of its production. He pays the laborer money wherewith to buy food, clothing and shelter. But the laborer can by his labor produce more value than the value of his wages. The surplus-value, or the value produced by the laborer after he has reproduced by the laborer after he has reproduced his wages, goes to the capitalist. Rent, profit, interest, taxes, etc., are all paid out of the surplus-values produced by the laboring receptly.

people. We have thus far treated capital only qualitatively. We have learned to know its nature, its peculiar characteristics. But how large must a sum of money be in order to be able to go through the circuit: money-commodity -more money, in order to functionate as capital? Obviously, it is different in different industries. In coal mining one must have more money than in the clothing industry. But it also differs in different epochs. At any time a definite minimum amount of money is necessary in order to circulate as capital. This minimum amount is greater today than it was thirty years ago, and is constantly increasing. It is this tenis constantly increasing. It is this ten-dency of the minimum to increase that is ruining the small producer, that is driving him down into the ranks of the proletariat. Hence his vain howling against aggregations of capital.

We are now in a position to inquire

into a few special cases. The big shopkeeper is a capitalist like the big man-ufacturer. But the small shopkeeper, like the small manufacturer, is not a capitalist in the strict sense of the term. In modern society he is out of place, an anachronism, a survival of the age of small production. Doomed to extinc-tion, the sooner he disappears the better it will be for himself and for soclety. At present he is a victim of the big capitalists, and yet he serves them as a weapon against the proletariat. Even State Comptroller Roberts knows this, and therefore he pleads the cause of the middle-class and proposes the inheritance tax nostrum to stave off the day of its total collapse.

On the other hand, the shareholder in a corporation is a capitalist in the he neither buys labor nor sells com-modities. What does it matter? There are those who do these things for him. same is true of the banker money lender. If they had no capital, and if there were no "free" laborers in value, no dividends, and no interest. Why should they be called money stealers? Is not interest as "legitimate" a gain as profit? And were not both interest and profit condemned by Church and State and society in the Middle Ages? Having undergone the same history, and originating in the same source—surplus labor—they must be classed alike, birds of a feather,

H. SIMPSON. New York.

The capers that the New York Jewish Anarchists are cutting are too funny to keep them from our outside readers. These youngsters have decided to take a hand in the decision of who shall represent the national party at the next national convention of the S. T. & L. A., that is to be held in Boston next July 5. We have three excellent candidates: Robert Bandlow, of Cleveland; Arthur Keep, of Washington, D. C.; and Thomas C. Brophy, of Boston. For none of these can our Jewish Anarchists have any love: each is an outspoken anti-Yakir, anti-Glasgow plan man, and a veritable "rough on 'reform' "-all of which things sit ill on the Anarchist stomach. Nevertheless these worthles have centered their bile on Comrade Brophy, and, with amusing childishness, are calling upon the party membership through the columns of a paper of theirs, the Jewish Anarchist "Forward," "PURIFY THE PARTY" by voting down Brophy. Why is this thus?

First-Brophy is the party's candidate for Governor in Massachusetts this year:

Second-Brophy is the man who in Massachusetts crushed the cockatrice of Anarchy in the shell two years ago.

There is a third reason, to wit, that a feature of the Jewish Anarchist is to think the world of himself; his head is swollen; he believes he is everybody and everybody else besides, and that he is an absolute majority.

Proceeding from these premises, they conclude that everybody will do as they want, and, second, that by assaulting Brophy they can hit two flies with one clap, to wit, injure the party by defaming one of its political candidates, and satisfy with their vaporings their rage for the blow he inflicted upon

No wonder these Jewish Anarchists are lovers of the "pure and simplers;" they take the cake for pure simpledom.

THE RED BESIDE THE GREEN.

Written for THE PROPLE by T. A. HICKEY.

AIR: "The Wearing of the Green." Arrah, Paddy dear, now did ye hear The news that's goin' rou Socialism at last is planted Upon dear old Erin's ground, the most distressful country. That ever yet was seen; They have thrown the red flag to the breeze Beside our darlin' green.

Refrain-Beside our darlin' green, Beside our darlin' green, They have thrown the red flag to the breeze

met with Jimmie Connolly, And I took him by the hand; Said I, "How is the movement An' how does it stand?" Said he, "At the custom house Five thousand men are seen Gazing with love-lit eyes upon

Beside our darlin' green.

The red beside the green. Refrain-On the red beside the green, On the red beside the green, Five thousand men are gazing On the red beside the green.

When the laws shall be made by the

orkin' class Then freedom shall be ours: Then we shall see prosperity
In beauteous golden showers.

Then let us work for that glorious day When our freedom shall be seen; When the red flag floats o'er our Parlia-

Beside our darlin' green.

street, New Bedford, Mass.

LETTER BOX.

Offhand Answers to Inquirers. A. N.Millstine.—You can get full par-ticulars from Jos. Palme, 58 Washburn

A. J. D., Philadelphia, Pa.—That is an open question.

A. Moren, N. Y.—The resolution of the 24th A. D. was not published be-cause at least twenty-three other communications from individual members were waiting publication. To print them all would have taken up too much space. As the call was for a general vote, the individual communications were entitled to the preference. The opinions of organizations, in such case, are of no account. In most other case, are of no account. In most other cases the opinion of an organization is bind-ing upon the minority, and the memers who were not present. In this case however, it could not: each individual member could vote as he chose, and, if absent when the decision was reached would not be bound in his action by it.

Moreover, organizations should not in such cases give their views, because it would be equivalent to allowing their members a chance to have two says in the paper: once, by printing the resolu-tion, and a second time by printing the letters of its individual members. As it vas, at least one member of your A. D. was heard in these columns. If the resolution of your A. D. had also been published, this member would have had two says at the expense of others who had no say whatever.



UNCLE SAM & BROTHER JONATHAN,

Brother Jonathan-Do you know I find great fault with the intolerance of

the Socialists? Uncle Sam-Do you know I am getting quite tired to hear that silly statement?

B. J.-'Tis not silly. To give you an illustration. See how the Socialists treat the Populist movement-U. S .- Do they blackguard it?

B. J.-No. U. S .-- Are the facts they quote

against it false?

B. J.—No. U. S.—Are -Are their arguments against it mistaken?

B. J.—No. All that is all right. But for all that the Socialists don't need to jump upon it as they do. They should realize that the Populist movement has created a pile of discontent, and with out discontent Socialists could not find hearers and could not make propaganda.

S .- You are tangling up a truta and an untruth. It is true that discos-tent is a prerequisite to make people ready to hear and accessible to Socialism; it is untrue that populism creates

discontent—
B. J.—Why, man—
U. S.—Never mind what you were
going to say. See here. Talk, agitathrilling denunciation, ferrita tion, thrilling denunciation, fer speeches—none of these can "crest discontent. Discontent is created by physical want and the mental trains that physical want breeds. These things are the creature of the development of capital. Every new machine, every concentration of productive forces proconcentration of productive forces produces, increases physical want and mental distress: they throw more wage slaves out of work and endanger all the more the jobs of those who remain at work; they render the chances of the small concerns to compete successfully slimmer and slimmer: they make the slimmer and slimmer; they make the livelihood of increasing numbers an ever harder thing to gain—they, ac-cordingly, by turning the screws down upon increasing numbers of people, wipe away false hopes that "some-thing will turn up," and render the masses discontented. This is the effect of the material workings of capitalism; words won't create discontent. The merit of creating discontent that you attribute to Populism does not belong to it; that merit belongs to capitalism. Give the devil his due: Tis capitalism that renders the people accessible to the teachings of Socialism by making

them more and more discontented.

B. J.—Very well; I grant that; it is the material conditions that must create discontent. discontent. But would you deny that the right kind of talk can intensify the

discontent.

U. S.—Most assuredly, I deny that. The man who is starving, and needs to be talked to before he becomes dis contented is worthless. The man who is going down hill and is not discon-The man who tented, you can never reach, even if you were to talk yourself black in the

B. J.—Well, granted that, too; and yet I maintain that Populism has helped greatly to set the pot boiling; and I am ready to give it credit for that.

U. S.—In the first place, you will notice that you insist upon your views notwithstanding you admit that your premises are knocked from under you-an evidence of bad reasoning.

In the second place, granted that Pop-ulism did help to set the pot boiling by intensifying discontent, do you know

who alone can profit by such action?
B. J.—Well?
U. S.—The charlatans; the discontented masses themselves are only ren-dered all the easier preys for the charlatans. Make a man discontented and abstain from teaching him the right cause of his troubles and the right way out of them, and what you have is to make him soft as putty in the hands of the first charlatan who comes around.

Say you have made a man discontented and did no more. Along comes a single taxer with his backnumber nostrum; will your discontented man know enough to see through the fallary of single taxism? No. He may be taken, boots and shoots, and off he flies. Or along comes a free trader, or flies. Or along comes a free trader, or a 16 to 1 coinagist or an anti-mone-polist, or an anti-Tammanite, or a Glasgow-planner. What would happen? Your man is ready made material for any of them. We have had altogether too much discontent in this country, and, as it is untrained discontent, the result has been that it has degenerated into hopelessness and apathy. Just compare the condition of things upon that head here and in Europe. Here there is nothing more common than to hear a poor devil of a fellow exclaim:
"Tis no use trying! Why, those whom
he met or who "helped to make him
discontented," either left him there, or,
worse yet, stuffed him with some ridiculous economic notion. The result is that he tried, failed and gave up. No. my good boy, we don't need, we don't want any more discontent. The national pot is running over with discontent. What we now need is solid Socialist teachings. These the Populist movement has not given. Socialist teachings. These the Populist movement has not given; just the reverse. Its economics were so absurd that deep and broad streams of discontent to run right into the maws of the rapacious combination of silver mine barons and bankrupt farmers who want to become big exploiting farmers themselves. No, Socialists are not intolerant, except in the sense that science is

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

VIEWED BY A SOCIALIST.

An Address delivered by G. B. Leonard before the Minneapolis Section of the Socialist Labor Party, on April 12, 1897.

I presume most of you have seen the art gallery in the public library build-ing. Those of you who did could not miss noticing a large picture of a strike.

You see afar factories with high amokestacks; men with coarse hands and tired faces pouring out in great numbers. Silent and untold histories numbers. Silent of misery are hidden behind the rud-cast of features of their countenances ry are hidden behind the rude They all rush to the office of the em ployer. There he comes out and tries to still the passions of the growing growing crowd. He probably tells them that they have no grievances; that he canpossibly afford to raise their wages or to shorten their hours of labor, or right other wrongs, He aske them to go back. The strikers have their spokesman. He argues and lays the case before the employer. In the middle of the crowd there is a woman trying to persuade her husband not, to mix up

in the affair.

Why this excitement of the crowd?
Why this persuasion of the woman? The artist did not fail to answer as well

as he could.

Near the entrance to the office, just ragged woman. Suffering and un-certainty of what is going to come to-morrow is indelibly impressed on her features. Maybe the landlord will tell them to remove; maybe the grocer will stop their credit. She is motionless. An imploring and at the same time scornful look of condemnation is in her eyes, which are turned upon the On her right arm she keeps thin, feeble, slender, puny little child, who clasps its arms around her mother's bare neck. At her feet stands a small girl in short and tattered clothes. She is five or six years old. maybe older than that. Her face has a livid hue. She knows the pangs of hunger. Sickness has not failed to ave its marks upon her feeble consti-ution. She looks helpless and fright ened. Here you see the workingwoman when a suckling baby, when a child, and when a mother. You see or guess the homes of those on strike.

The cause of the excitement is not to

be found in the agitated crowd that is before you. You must go outside of it.

You must go to their homes; you must go, perhaps, still further. In spite of some quite important defects in the picture, the artist shows that he was more than a painter, who simply conveys on the canvas what strikes his eye. He conveys his thoughts and reasons for the colors he has put on the canvas. In introducing these three figures the artist attempts to give the CONTENTS of his painting. But to understand it fully you must go be-hind all colors and figures that are before you.

The method of the Socialist with regard to things around him and events that make up our histories is that of the artist I have just mentioned. The surface of things and events does not explain them. To understand them you must go to their CONTENTS. You must find the reasons and causes of all the inethintions of the past and wresen. the institutions of the past and present the reason for the change of ideas, be-liefs, sentiments, passions, moral and

religious conceptions, legal axioms and political institutions.

is natural to expect that what strikes the eye most should attract our attention and impress our mine most forcibly. It is for this reason that our histories are filled with lengthy achistories are filled with lengthy ac-counts of battles, court intrigues, deeds of great generals, kings and priests rather than with a description of the rather than with a description of the life of, our ancestors and the reasons for the changes that have taken place in the mode of living. And if reasons are some times given, they usually fail to explain. The peculiar characteristics of some race, the tenacious (adividuality of or devouring fanaticism of another) differences of moral standards and explains, elegance of cortage. ards and religions; eloquence of orators, politicians and statesmen; the writings of great men; triumph of right over wrong, of justice over injustice; the as cendency of eternal truth, of the spiri of liberty and progress—these are a few examples of the reasons frequently asfor historical events and for great changes in society.

"One event is always the son of another, and we must never forget the parentage," was a remark made by a Bechuana chief to Cassalis, the African missionary. A Greek philosopher said that all things flow. Shakespeare re-marks: "Nothing is but what is not." All three express the same idea, but each succeeding one more clearly than the other. There is nothing in nature that is at a standstill. Every atom of nature moves. Everything in nature is every moment different from what it was a moment before, With every breath we draw we change the sub-stance of our body. You may be sur-prised if I tell you that your noses do not contain exactly the same elements that they contained Just one moment ago, and that in less than five years your noses will be gone. There will not single atom in them five years hence that make up their substance at this moment. It is this constant change and motion of matter in our body that makes us breathe, drink and cat: that makes us live and grow, and brings us

Society, the system of social relations, is also never at a standstill, and the changes that take place in societ have a regularity of development and laws of evolution like everything else in nature.

What are, then, the laws of social evolution? It is in this that the modern Socialist differs from the rest of the world. Not ideas, morals, legal com-pulsion, increased perception of eternal fruth and absolute right and justice. love of freedom, have been the cause of great changes of the past. The social, political and intellectual conditions of each epoch and their continual transformation are to be explained by the forms of production and their the forms of production and their changes. Or, as stated by Engels: "Production, and next to production, the ex-change of its products, is the ground-work of every social order, and in every social system that has arisen histori-cally, the distribution of the products, together with the social divisions into classes and orders, depends upon that which is produced, and also upon the in which the articles produced ire exchanged."

There was a time when man wan-dered in hordes through the thick woods, living on the roots and fruits of trees. There was no family, there was no property, no system of social organization. Men and women lived in pro-miscuity like other animals. Gradually the laws of natural selection asserted themselves in the fact that a social or-anization, based on the differences of sex, is established. Brothers and sisters are no more to intermarry. The clan, or, as otherwise known, the GENS, appears. This form of organization is found yet among the savage tribes. It existed among all ancient nations, and traces of them have been impressed on almost every institution of modern The members of the clan cannot arry. The women are considered intermarry. as the wives of the male members of the other clans within the same tribe. husbands are simply guests to the clan The children belong to the clan of their mother, and through her they trace their parentage. All property is held in common. The fish that is caught, the game that is killed, is the property of the whole clan. No savage starves is long as there is any food in the clan.

With the growth of population the number of these clans grows, and a tribe is formed. The relations within tribe is formed. The relations within the tribe are similar to those within the clan. All members of the tribe are called brothers. The individuality of each is lost or merged in that of the clan or tribe. When the savage marries, it is his clan that marries; when he has caught some fish, it is the clan that owns it. Land is held in common along side of other things. In most of the cases the whole clan lives in one house Where the art of agriculture is known, common granaries keep a supply of grain for a year or two ahead, as a provision in case of dearth. It belongs to the whole clan. Courage, bravery, a kind feeling to each other, a readiness to help and even sacrifice life for each are characteristics having force of obligation. The savage says: "All who belong to my tribe are my brothers—all others are my enemies." This explains the continuous warfares among the savage tribes. In Judea, Greece and Rome all strangers were enemies. The Latin word "hostis" means both stranger and enemy. We will see later how this exclusiveness, which the narrow notion of kinship implies, issues in rnce and class feuds, that are destined finally to break up the tribal organiza-

tion of antiquity.

The population was scattered in all The population was scattered in all directions, wherever means of subsistence could easily be procured, usually alongside of rivers, where fish supplied the necessary wants. The place occupied by the tribe was more thickly settled. There is very little division of labor. The only division there was was based on the differences of sex, man tending to bunting and of sex, man tending to hunting and fishing, woman to household affairs and to the raising of children. In Asia where there were animals that could be domesticated, and thus furnish new materials of subsistence, like milk, wool and meat, the first great social division took place, that of tribes who devoted their time to raising flocks, nomadic tribes. This tended to increase the means of subsistence beyond the immediate needs of the tribe, and ex-change of products commenced until it became a regular institution. The main article exchanged was cattle, which became such a universal commodity mong the Aryan and Semitic tribes that all other things began to be measured in cattle. The Latin word "pecunia," which means money, is derived from the word "pecus," which means small cattle. As a result of all this, in ourse of time grew up a class of merchants and money loaners.

Agriculture is introduced soon afterwards, and the productive powers of man reach a degree that he can produce more than is necessary to sustain him. Captives are no more devoured, or killed, and left to birds of prey, or adopted into the tribe, but are turned into slaves. The surplus above the means of subsistence of the slave goes

to the slaveholder.

Cannibalism must have been quite regular among our ancestors, when the means of life were so scanty and uncertain that they had to resort to human flesh for food. Only in the long ourse of evolution, when the methods of gaining a livelihood have gradually improved to such a degree that man could produce enough to sustain himself, cannibalism dies out. Only then could Christian preachers and promulgators of ethical culture expect to get a

Originally the flocks as well as the slaves are held as the common property of the tribe or larger social group, but with the increase of wealth there is a tendency to make it individual prop-erty. How this process of conversion of common flocks into private property of single families took place it is hardly possible to trace. But one thing is certain, that extensive flock-raising and agriculture have helped greatly the breaking up of the old tribal relations,

Woman becomes less and less important in social production and man gets the upper hand. Our modern form of marriage, monogamy, thus rises sim-

ultaneously with private property.

A great revolution takes place at this stage with the discovery of the art of smelting iron. Mechanical industry is separated from agriculture. Slaves come more numerous, and are driven to fields, mines and whatever little shops could be established. Exchange of commodities becomes a rule. It is carried on not only between different tribes

t between the individual members of e tribe. Rich and poor within the me tribe appear.
What was at this time the political

organization of society? There was as yet none, in our sense of the word. The social relations of men to each other were based on their real or supposed kinship. Each man and woman be-longed to a clan, tracing their descent from one common ancestor, real or sup posed, who was its god-protector. few clans made up the tribe. They had certain duties towards each other which were regulated by custom and not by were regulated by custom and not by written law. An injury to one member was an injury to the whole clan, and the clan and tribe of the injured had the obligation to avenge the wrong committed. There is a chief in each clan, elected by both men and women. In some a woman is elected to chieftainship. The chiefs of the clans make up the council of the tribe, and with a general assembly of all the members of general assembly of all the members of the tribe transact tribal affairs. Such is the political organization among the Indians; such it is among the savages in other places; and such, in general, it was among our ancestors. (See "An-cient Society," by Lewis H. Morgan). Here and there tribes confederate for mutual advantages, tribes of the same stock, related to each other. With the increase of wealth there is

With the increase of the atendency in the tribe to settle. The neighboring tribes make regular invasions for plundering purposes. It is no longer revenge or defense of terri-tory that is the cause of war. Gain of uncarned wealth is the stimulus, which has remained to this day as the main-spring of all modern wars. The use of rum, opium and the Bible, as means of territorial extension and successful conquest of backward countries was not as yet known to ancient nations. This is a discovery of more recent date and by more civilized people than the ancients

Piracy becomes not only an act which is to be excused or condemned, but is commended. The Greek god Hermes, the god of commerce (and Greek commerce was mostly on the sea), was also the god-protector of the pirates, and later of all kinds of thieves. Homer praises Ulysses' grandfather, "who outdid all men in thieving and skill of swearing." In Rome, wealth gained through war was the most honorable.

With the rise of private property in personal chattels, private property in land begins to develop. A coalescence of several tribes takes place around a hill or near the sea, and a city is estab lished. The steady concentration of wealth gradually breaks up the clans and tribes, which slowly lose their social functions as the disintegration lose their goes on. The members of the tribe, be cause of the institution of commerce frequently change their place of residence and migrate to other cities, where they are considered aliens and denied the privilege of citizenship. Their number tends steadily to grow. Society is no longer composed of a homogeneous element. A differentia-tion into orders and classes appears With the growth of all these various classes, a new political organization of society is needed, an organization based not on kinship but on territory and property. It becomes a pressing ex-igency of the moment. The growing opposition of interests between the rich and poor, slaveholders and slaves landed or money aristocracy and the poorer artisans and peasantry, the patricians and plebeians, the richer and poorer plebeians—in one word, the violent antagonism of classes which springs up in society with the rise and eprings up in society with the rise and expansion of private property, demands he existence of a power which shall take care that the clashing of these conflicting interests be kept within the limits of "law and order." Such power is the political state, which we see rising in full bloom in old Athens and Rome, in the Sixth and Seventh Century B.C. and glimpses of which can be seen also in Judea. But since the birth of this power takes place only as a result of the rise of private property, and in the midst of a struggle of classes already existing, the State necessarily becomes an instrument of oppression of the weaker class by the stronger. It becomes the state of the slaveholder, money and landed gristo-cracy in olden Judea, Rome and Greece, of the feudal lords in the Middle Ages, and of the capitalist class in modern

Though the forms of exploitation have changed, and though the forms of government have changed with them, the essence of government has re-mained at all times the same; to be an instrument of exploitation and oppres of an economically weaker class by the economically stronger, in the name of "private property." as long as that private property is the wealth created by one class but belongs to the

The notion that government is something standing above all class antag-onisms, an organ independent of so-clety, is erroneous and misleading. It is false in the light of history and re-cent events. And the Anarchist who imagines that all wrongs and evils issue from the government and finds salvation in its immediate abolition. sees things upside down. You cannot abolish class oppression by abelishing the government, but the modern gov ernment machinery, with its oppression, will die out of itself with the abolition of classes. It will peter out, after having performed its last and most useful function at the hands of the victorious class of the proletariat, that of utterly erasing all class distinctions

from the heart and bosom of society.

In ethics, the civic virtue of ancient morality and the religious sentiments. conceptions and rites, whose object was the welfare of the social unit, whether clan, tribe, city or nation, were grad-ually being undermined by the new conception of the welfare of the individual per se. Devotion to society, in which the individual as such is merged, is superseded by ideas of personal sin and holiness, by notions of a higher and happier existence for the individual or his soul in the after life. Man com-mences to distinguish himself from the surrounding nature and his social environments. He questions and analyses them. Philosophy springs up. In the variety of its first systems it mirrors the struggle for supremacy between primitive communism and private property. The new principle of individualism gradually asserts itself and gets the upper hand in the "Know Thyself," of Socrates. The deadly cup of poison he is made to drink for his too revolution-

ary words at a time when tribal tra-ditions are still strong in the social and eligious life of the Athenians, cannot however, extinguish the breath of in-dividualist teachings. In vain do his followers attempt to bring about a re-conciliation of the two contending prin-ciples. Plato's "Republic" does not arouse much enthusiasm, and his own pupils subject it to severe criticism. The deification of natural objects and of ancestors, as protectors of a social group, is being given up in the measure as private property intrudes, until Greek mythology finally looses all halo of sanctity and is put through a burlesque panorama in the comical "Dia-lesque panorama in the comical "Dia-logues" of Lucianus. The way for Christianity was paved. Slavery was an institution of all nations at a certain stage of their eco-

nomic development. I cannot now go into the reasons why slavery among suclents had to disappear. I shall try to explain it when we come down to slavery in this country. For the present suffice it to say that slave labor to pay at a certain stage of develop-ment of the methods and powers of production. Feudalism takes its place. It is to be found among all European nations in the Middle Ages, in Russia until not so long ago, in Japan even now. It is based on the exploitation of until not serfs, who are attached to the soil fron which they cannot remove. The serf cither works a number of days in the week for his lord, or pays to him in kind a certain quantity of his yearly produce, or an amount of money in-stead, in the later stages of feudalism All land is supposed to belong to one man, the king, the biggest lord, who gets his right of dominion from God, who is a bigger Lord than himself. Then follows a small class of lords, who hold their land from the king, and under each of them there is a host of vassals At the bottom of the scale is the serf, who has to feed them all. Industry is carried on at home, because the tools are simple. Those who devote their time to handicraft from towns, and a system of guilds is established, regulat ing the number of apprentices, the kind of work and amount of product. Com-merce and manufacture are very limited at first, but stimulated by con-tinual discoveries and inventions, they commence to grow. The restrictions of the feudal system become too narrow A struggle between the towns and lords ensues, which ends in the final aboli-tion of feudal privileges and restric-On the ruins of feudalism rises capitalism. The serf becomes a free-man. "Absolute monarchy is superseded by representative government.

In religion, the Catholic ideal of the Christian Church as a divine kingdom on earth, gives place to the notion of religion as a personal affair, unquestion-ing acceptance of dogmatic formulas to severe religious criticism and religious freedom, superstitious belief to scien tific analysis. Stripped of its specula tive advantages. Protestantism was still more acceptable to the profit-grinding propensities of the rising cap-italist class because of the lesser number of holidays it allowed to its fol-

Viewed in its economic, political, in tellectual and religious aspects, the great French Revolution marks the final triumph of the capitalist class.

Let us now cast a glance at the his-tory of "the land of the free and the

home of the brave."
For thousands of years this conti-

nent was inhabited by savage tribes, which were slowly marching towards civilization. With the discovery of America the European merchants be-gan to make expeditions to this continent in order to enrich themselves America was supposed to contain un-bounded quantities of gold. Hence the Dutch and English, who in the Seven-teenth Century became strong com-mercial nations, did not fail to make settlements in North America. It was thought that the capitalist system with its refined methods 'of exploitation, could be transplanted into the new Hundreds of workmen were world. sent to these shores to create profits for their employers. But the attempts to establish the wage system were doomed to failure for a time. The workman, once on this side of the ocean, was on the other side of the fence. He did not give a snap, so to say, for a job, as long as land was free or could be procured for a small sum. Here and there colonies grew up. system of small production was put into operation. Most of the materials for clothing were grown upon the farms. The colonists did the breaking and heckling of the flax, while their wives and daughters did the carding, spinning, weaving and dyeing. Hired

labor was scarce. When most of the land, however, near the shore was taken up, there settled down in the eastern parts with every arrival of a new load of immigrants a portion of it, which could not be washed away further West, and which, having no means of subsistence had to depend upon the selling of its labor power. Not a few, who were brought over from England, had to work out their passage money after arriving. Children, some only seven years of age, were sent over to serve as apprentices until they became of age, when a suit of clothing was given them for their services. The majority of the people, however, were farmers, them-selves tilling their lands, and only here and there employing help. There were also independent artisans, and a stead ily growing class of merchants and

manufacturers.

Slavery was introduced quite early. In the Northern and Middle colonies it was sporadic and continued only to domestic service, slave labor in other lines being unprofitable. In the South-

ern colonies slavery was general.

There the slaveholders, mostly descendants of English gentry, were engaged in the raising of rice, tobacco and the sugar cane, which they shipped to England. The English Crown and Parliament, both controlled by the cap-italist class of England, imposed innumerable restrictions upon the merchants and manufacturers of the col-onies. No goods could be imported from any country or even from a neighboring colony unless it first went to England. The erection of mills and iron works was nearly wholly for-bidden. Later, when with the growth of cotton raising and wool production, there was a serious apprehension on the part of the English capitalists that the colonies might become dangerous competitors in textile products, the English Parliament prohibited the exportation from England of any weaving machines, and imposed a big fine upon the violators of the law. Numerous other restrictions were put upon Amer-ican trade and manufacture, which sooner or later were to burst asunder. Gradually the colonists became a nation of lawbreakers. It is said that nine tenths of the colonial merchants were smugglers. Fully one-third of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were "bred to commerce, to the command of ships and contraband trade." The ostentatious John Hau-cock, who owned more wealth than any other individual in New England, and whose vessels, filled with West Indian molasses, came regularly to the New England shore, whence shortly after they set sail replenished with barre's of rum, to infuse into other colonics and foreign nations the spirit of their maker, this grandfather of American shobbery and cockneyism, whose indignation against British tyranny and whose devotion to American independ ence were in direct ratio with the cur tailment of the profits on his cargoes of rum and molasses, which the Naviga-tion Acts might have been the cause of was the prince of smugglers.
"This country," says C, D. Wright.
"had the natural position which would

enable it to develop the textile industry for here, as well as in England, existed the germ of the textile factory in the fulling and carding mills, which had been erected at convenient focalities in nearly all the olonies; and cotton could be raised in the Southern States, and thus be utilized as nearly at first hands as possible, certainly with an ad-vantage over European competition, for Western Europe was obliged to secure its cotton from India. TO SECURE THE FACTORY SYSTEM THERE MUST BE THE MACHINERY WHICH ENGLAND WAS USING, AND TO GET THIS REQUIRED EFFORTS AND STRICE IS WHICH EFFORTS AND STRUGGLES, WHICH BROUGHT OUT THE PATRIOTISM OF THE MANUFACTURERS OF THE TIME." The middle and close of the last century was an epoch of a great series of inventions which were destined to revolutionize the industry of the world. Jay's fly shuttle. Paul's carding machine. Arkwright's waterframe, and throttle, Crompton's mule jenny. Watt's steam engine, Cart-wright's power loom and other contrivances were rapidly being intro-duced and undermining hand processes of labor in England. The reign of the Almighty Dollar was to commence. And when the Declaration of Independence announced that all men are born equal, it overlooked or excluded the negro slave. When it declared the right of every man to liberty, it meant no more and no less than the liberty of every owner of property to dispose of it and use it to his best advantage; it meant the freedom of exchange of commodities, which was also the underlying import of the outery for Liberty Equality and Fraternity during the great French Revolution. But though in its essence the French Revolution was a Bourgeois affair, it, however, bore a tinge of enthusiasm, which was full of inspiration for high ideals of life, and sincere devotion to the ab-stract principles of liberty and humanity, which soon shook the foundations of all European society. The American Revolution was more of a naked business matter, a question of dollars and cents, almost without ideal, and less affected by higher motives or aspira-tions. It was a revolt of a growing class of merchants and manufacturers against the powerful capitalist class of England. The intellectual upheaval of which Tom Paine is such a splendid representative, was short lived, and soon drowned in the all conquering sound of the dollar.

But such a freedom in its natural

course of evolution must lead to large capitalist production. A society where to satisfy one's wants a sale must be made for these or other neces-saries of life, has in itself the germ of capitalism. There appears on the market a commodity which has the magic power of creating more than it costs to produce it. This is the labor power of a human being, of a free wage worker. He sells it for a certain amount of money, which competition reduces to the average necessaries of life required to produce it, to so much food clothing and shelter, which are absolutely necessary to recuperate his lost powers on the next morning, and re-produce a new generation of wageworkers after this one is gone to rest in the world above or below. All above this goes to the employing class, and is called surplus value. If, to produce these necessaries of life it requires three hours of labor, and the wage-worker has put in ten hours, the product of seven hours of labor goes to the duct of seven hours of labor goes to the owners of the tools and machinery, to the capitalist class. Part of this surplus value, of this unpaid labor, is consumed by the capitalists and the host of parasites that follow and surround them, the rest is reinvested. The establishment is enlarged, and more men are unpaided and the surplus value of the employed, and the surplus value of the capitalist increases, or an improved machine is introduced, and a number of the employees are thrown out of work The wages of those at work can easily be reduced, and thus the surplus value of the capitalist grows again. By thus reinvesting the surplus value stolen from the wage working class, the capitalist is enabled to create still more surplus value. It is by this process that 'his' capital creates capital.'

To beat his competitor on the market the merchant or manufacturer must be able to undersell him. To do this, his goods must be produced at a lesser ex-This is accomplished by propense. ducing them in large quantities ducing them in large quantities and through continual introduction of labor saving machinery. Thus the average capital required to successfully com-pete on the market becomes larger and larger. The small shopkceper, artisan or tradesman must give in before the onward march of capitalism. They are thrown overboard in this fierce struggle and help to swell the ranks of the wageworking class, the proletariat. Con-centration of wealth becomes an abso-lute condition for the survival in the struggle on the market. All barriers that stand in the way are mercilessly broken, all attempts to resist it prove fruitless. Such, in general, is the ten-dency of an economic system based on production for sale.

At the time of the American Revolu-

· Industrial Evolution of United States, p. 121. 1

tion the population was confined to the thirteen colonies on the Atlantic coast. It was less than three millions. trace out distinctly the different eco-nomic classes of the time is hardly possible. There were nearly half a million slaves. They were the valuable prop-erty of the Southern planters. There were big landowners, some owning even as many as five million acres, as Lord Fairfax, for example. The widow whom the haughty and priggish Cossack of the American Revolution had wood and won with the stately assiduity of a general, was an owner of very large tracts of land, besides having a paltry sum of £45,000. This vain "soldier and statesman," whose mutiny quelling abilities had won him the utmost conditions of the statesman that the statesman that the statesman is the statesman that the statesman is the statesman that the statesman is the statesman is the statesman in the statesman is the statesman in the statesman is the statesman in the statesman in the statesman is statesman in the fidence of the aristocratic elements, and made him a fit candidate for the Presidency of the new republic, was himself an extensive tobacco planter and owner of a large number of slaves. The working class comprised probably less than ten per cent, of the total population, and had already more or less distinctly separated itself from the other classes. There was a slumbering dissatisfaction among them, but yet they exercised an insignificant influence in colonial affairs. This class, however, furnishes the breasts for the reception of bullets of the English troops during the Revolutionary War. The remainder of the city population was made up of mer-chants, independent handicraftsmen and smaller or larger manufacturers The bulk of the country inhabitants in the Middle and Northern States con-sisted of a class of farmers overtaxed and in debt over head and heels. The financial burdens of the Revolutionary War fell most heavily on this class, and increased their discontent, which soon took the shape of a strong movement against the ascending power of the cap-italists. Partial successes are attained. Rhode Island's Legislature falls in the hands of these "traitors." The move-ment culminates in Shay's Rebellion (1786), which also absorbs the discon-tented elements among the working class. It collapses. The supremacy of the capitalist class, which the Revolu-tion has assured, is thus first attested.

The convention that framed the constitution was a lot of shopkeepers, merchants, landowners and staveholders few having regard for the welfare of the propertyless. It was held behind closed doors. Propositions to have the suffrage restricted to freeholders were discusse at length, and had it not been for the comparatively small number of propertyless and the insignificant fluence they could exercise at that time in national affairs, if allowed to vote, the proposition would have been engrafted upon the Constitution. The fear that this class, which made up nearly the whole of the army, might offer a vigorous protest, was a strong argument against such a provision. A Proposition was also submitted that no should be eligible to the Presidency unless worth \$100,000, and to Congress unless \$25,000. It shared the same fate as the other, and for the same reasons. Slavery was sanctioned. Futile were the strenuous appeals of the naïve abolit-ionists, when rice had become a rich and abundant crop in California, and when the molasses-rum-slave-traffic was paying a profit of more than 100 per cent. The apparent zeal of Mary-land and Virginia in the Federal Convention against the slave trade, as an "infernal traffic," was far from having a humanitarian motive. These States, as was broadly hinted, suffered from a plethora in the then slave market, and were anxious to dispose of the surplus at a high price to Georgia and South Carolina, who needed them more. (See

Madison Papers, Vols. ii. and iii.)
Why this consolidation of the separate colonies into one union? Oh, it was the patriotism of our ancestors that dictated such a course, we are told. But why this patriotism, and what was its mainspring? The development of commerce and capitalist industry conjured it up. Each State was too feeble to de-pend on itself in commerce and production, especially in trade upon the sea, where England's competition stood greatly in the way. Hence, all restrictions of trade between the separate States were to be entirely abolished. Discriminations, bad blood, jealousy and the continual fends between them, gave way in view of the Almighty Dollar to a strong sentiment of union, po-litical exclusiveness to a united government and puritan intolerance to freedom of religion and religious hypocrisy. The field for capitalist industry in the North was open. Smaller or larger factories begin to crop up, creeds and churches to multiply, Christian bigotry to flourish.

(To be concluded.)

Socialist Weekly and Monthly Publica-

ENGLISH.
THE PEOPLE, 184 William street, New York, N. Y. \$1 per year.
The New Charter, 35 Turk street, San Francisco, Cal. \$1 per year.
The Syracuse Socialist,
The Rochester Socialist (Monthly).

The Beacon, Johnston, R. I. (Fortnightly). 50 cents per year.

The Socialist Alliance, 73 Dearborn
street, Chicago, 50 cents per year.

GERMAN. Vorwärts, 184 William street, New York, N. Y. \$1.50 per year, Cleveland Volksfreund, 237-Clair street,

Cleveland, Ohio. \$2 per year. DANISH-NORWEGIAN.

Arbejderen, 6832 Marshfield avenue, Chicago, Ill. \$1.50 per year.

SWEDISH. Arbetaren, 35 and 37 Frankfort street, New York, N. Y. \$1.50 per year.

ITALIAN. Il Proletario, 1221 Penn avenue, Pitts-burgh, Pa. \$1 per year.

POLISH. Sila, 1146 Broadway, Buffalo, N. Y. \$1 per year.

JEWISH. Arbeiterzeitung, 9 Rutgers street, New York, N. Y. \$1 per year.

HUNGARIAN. Nepszava, 236 East 4th street, New York, N. Y. \$1 per year. ENGLISH AND GERMAN.

The Truth, 514 West 3d street, Daven-port, Iowa. \$1 per year.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe

ticket in the fall elections; were about

Essex reported great progress of and

Essex reported great progress of and renewed interest in the movement; have opened permanent headquarters, and are having a good healthy growth; also have a ladies organization, a good working Scandinavian branch, an Italian branch of 46 members; German, Hebrew and Sclavish branches doing good work; were also to organize a Roumanian branch; held 45 open air meetings during the last fall campaign, where they had held their own.

At the spring elections they had towing to the doubt caused by the changes in the election laws) no challengers appointed; could therefor not

changes in the election laws no charlengers appointed; could therefor not report as to the result.

Hudson reports having made considerable changes in local organization, all the Sections of Jersey City having surrendered their charters and applied for one charter for the city Section.

for one charter for the city Section, composed of ward branches, the seventh,

eleventh and thelfth wards being al-

ready organized; the others to follow. Hoboken has organized an American

branch, which has 14 active members

at present.

Jersey City had suffered with Newark

at the spring elections. Hoboken had gone into the municipal election, Hud-son had bravely weathered the storm

son had bravely weathered the storm in the fall elections and was proud of the distinction it had then won, that of having polled a greater vote for the electoral than for the Assembly ticket, the vote having stood 1,140 for the electoral to 1,120 for the Assembly.

Middlesex reported that the Section there was in a had way, having dwindled to 4 active members, who however managed to scrape up enough

however, managed to scrape up enough to pay the campaign expenses. Passale reported having continuous

Passale reported having continuous agitation; had also established permanent headquarters; had nearly succeeded in electing an alderman in the 7th Ward of Paterson; had active organizations in Manchester, Passale and other places; also had a German and a Hollander Club, which were doing good work. The Ladies' Club had raised \$150 for a banner, which they were about to present to Section Paterson; were also about to organize a branch of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance.

of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance

The Eighth Ward Branch invited the delegates to attend their pic-nic on the

list. The invitation was accepted.
Union County reported through its secretary that the movement was pro-

gressing slowly but steadily; have formed an organization for the purpose

Plainfield Section in a bad way. Delegate James, of Plainfield, here presented his credentials and was seated.

He reported that the Conrades in Plainfield were simply apathetic, and appealed to the convention for speakers so as to waken them up from their lethargy; that Plainfield is a good field

for our agitation, but badly needed

lectures and mass meetings.

A recess of one and a half hours was

Meeting called to order by the chairman at 3:15.

Reports of Committees.

The Committee on Agitation and Organization reported as follows: First—Your committee desire to rec-

ommend a thorough and compact or-ganization in each county on ward

lines where possible and representation

in County Committees from each ward so as to thoroughly cover said counties,

which was adopted.

Second—No speaker should be permitted to lecture or speak at any party meeting unless he is a member of the party in good standing, which was adopted.

Third—That while political cam-paigns should be waged with all the powers at command, above this stands

the most vital point, viz., the recruiting and training of new members into the ranks of the Socialist Labor party.

Fourth-No man shall be nominated

for any office whatsoever unless a mem-

ber of the party in good standing.

ing shall be held quarterly in Essex, Hudson, Passaic and Union Counties, the expense of which be mutually borne

by the State and County Committees. After considerable debate this was referred to the State Committee.

control of the party, as we deem it un-wise to support the enemy in any way.

WHEREAS, Evidence of an impend-

ported the following preamble

Committee on Resolutions re-

Sixth-We recommend that no papers circulated at party meetings or en-rsed except such as are under the

Fifth-We recommend that one meet-

declared.

Adopted.

Adonted.

resolutions:

of founding a Labor Lyceum. Elizabeth Sections doing well.

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PARTY NEWS.

& Activity of Militant Socialists East, West, North and South.

National Executive Committee.

National Executive Committee.

Session held June 2nd with Comrade
Moore in the chair. The financial report
for the week ending May 29th shows receipts to the amount of \$18.91; expenditures \$35.47; defect \$21.46. Comrade
Furman is absent and excused. The
matter of publishing the Municipal Programme in leaflet form is then taken up
and the secretary instructed to take the
necessary stems. A committee from the and the secretary instructed to take the necessary steps. A committee from the French Branch Section New York calls on account of the subscription lists that have been issued for the French Socialist paper that is to be published. Sections having any of these lists will please return them with the amounts collected.

The secretary reports as to the negotiations with Il Proletario, looking to the translation of the party's constitu-

the translation of the party's constitu-tion into italian.
Charters were granted to Sections No.
1 and 2 in Shamokin, Pa.
At the session heid June 8th, Comrade
Stahl was elected to the chair. The
financial report for the week ending,
June 5th shows receipts to have been
\$107.10; expenditures \$89.00; balance
\$18.10.
A translation of the constitution in

\$18.10.

A translation of the constitution in Jewish is ordered printed.

The general vote on the proposition relative to the Jewish press is reported closed, the result being 1527 votes in favor and 538 against, which makes the express official arrange of the S. I. these papers official organs of the S. L. P. under party control. It is resolved to so notify the Publishing Association. It is also resolved to issue a call to the Jewish Comrades in connection with this matter. Section Fredericksburg. this matter. Section Fredericksburg, Va., reports the expulsion of William Wild for having voted for the capitalist

parties at the last election.

Charters are granted to Section Jersey City (Ama)gamate() and a French Section in Pittsburgh, Pa.

L. A. MALKIEL, Rec. Sec.

Result of the General Vote on the Proposition of the National Executive Committee to place the Jewish Papers. "Abendblati" and "Arbeiterzeitunk" under the control of the Party as

Official Party Organs.		
Section	For.	Against.
Phoenix, Ariz	11	4 2
Oakland Cal	1	. 6
Sacramento Cal.	6	- 6
Bridgeport, Conn	13	ii -
Danbury, Conn., No. 1.	A.P.	
New Britain, Conn	90	
New Haven, Conn., No. 1 New Haven, Conn., No. 2	11	11
Rockville, Conn., No. 1	13	
South Norwalk, Conn	15	
Waterbury, Conn Washington, D. C	20	
Belleville, Ill.	12	4"
Chicago, Ill	72 10	
New Albany Ind.	- 5	
Indianapolis, Ind Louisville, Ky., No. 1	17	1
Louisville Kv., No. 2	- 8	1
Baltimore, Md Boston, Mass., No. 1		36
Boston, Mass., No. 1	14 25	3
Boston, Mass., No. 2 Boston, Mass., No. 3 Holyoke, Mass., No. 1		28
Holyoke, Mass., No. 1	15	
HOIVORE MARS. NO. 2	12	5
Lynn, Mass. Haverhill, Mass., No. 2. Lawrence, Mass., No. 1.	1	8
Lawrence, Mass., No. 1, .	33	6
Somerville, Mass	13	
Detroit, Mich.	10	5
Minneapolis, Minn	24 17	
St. Paul, Minn	27	
Elizabeth, N. J., No. 2	7	. 1
St. Louis, Mo	11	9
West Hoboken, N. J	2	10
West Hoboken, N. J Newark, N. J Paterson, N. J	23	16
Union Hill, N. J.	18	8
Buffalo, N. Y	48	
Union Hill, N. J Buffalo, N. Y Oneida, N. Y New Rochelle, N. Y	11	1
Utica, N. Y., No. 1	11	
Glendale, N. Y	13	1
Rochester, N. Y.	22	6
Wykoff Heights, N. Y. Rochester, N. Y. Yonkers, N. Y. Troy, N. Y. Newburgh, N. Y. Albany, N. Y. Woodhaven, N. Y., No. 1 Long Island City, N. Y.	13	2
Newhursh N V	14.	
Albany, N. Y	11	
Woodhaven, N. Y., No. 1	9	
		308
City of New York Cincinnati, Ohio, No. 2 Cincinnati, Ohio, No. 3	7	
Canton, Ohio, No. 3.,	13	7
Cleveland, Ohio	75	
Altoona, Pa.	12	
Allentown, Pa	10	
Philadelphia, Pa		26
Pittsburgh, Pa., No. 1 Pittsburgh, Pa., No. 2	20 25	
Figart, Pa.	1)	
Providence, R. L.	5.54	
Westerly, R. 1	7 8	
Milwaukee, Wis.	50	
Total	1,527	538
Total vote east		2,061
HENRY KUH	N, Se	cretary.

Massachusetts.

WORCES'TER, Mass., June 5.—At our business the eting held June 1st it was voted to expel Thomas P. Abbott from the Section for grossly immoral conduct, and that notice of the same be forwarded to THE PEOPLE for insertion. JOHN WILLIAM YOUNG, Secy., Worcester Sec., S. L. P.

Illinois.

Financial Report of the Illinois State Committee for May, 1897:

RECEIPTS.
Section Chicago, 200 due stamps \$20 00
Cash from April 28..... 30 67

New York.

New York City (Greater New York)— To the Assembly Districts, Wards and Branches of Section Greater

New York, S. L. P.: Comrades—The above organizations are requested to supply themselves with the new applicants' cards, which en-titles applicants to temporary admis-sion to the organization to which they have applied, until their names have been acted upon by the General Committee at the regular monthly meeting. These cards can be seened from the organizer, at 64 East 4th street, N. Y.,

on floor, at any time during the day.

Propositions for membership in the arty should also be brought to the same address, and from there will be delivered to the Executive Committee, which meets every Monday, S.p. m., at 184 William street. L. ABELSON, Organizer,

Section Greater New York, S. L. P.

Philadelphia, Attention:

PHILADELPHIA, June 7, 1897.—Section Philadelphia will have a meeting to-night, 8 p. m., at Labor Lyceum. Every member should have his card

Socialist Labor Party Convention

The ninth convention of the Socialist Labor party of New Jersey was held at the Turh Hall, on High street, Eliza-beth on May 30, 1897.

beth, on May 30, 1897.

The convention was called to order at 10:30 a. m. by George P. Herrschaft, of the State Committee. Carl Pankopf, of Hudson, was elected chairman pro tem. George P. Herrschaft was elected acc-

retary pro tem.

Committee on Credentials.—Comrades Bleasby, of Hudson; Magnet, of Essex; Duff, of Passaie; Ton, of Middle-

sex; and Mills, of Union.
A recess of fifteen minutes was de-clared to enable the committee to pre-

pare their report.

After recess, the committee reported 20 delegates and 2 alternates present. The credentials of Comrades Magnire and Schmidt were recognized by a vote of the convention.

Permanent Organization.

The convention then permanently organized by electing Comrade Carl Pankopf chairman and George P. Herrschaft secretary.
The following committees were then

Committee on Agitation and Organization—Duff, of Passaic; Walker, of Essex, and Campbell, of Hudson. Committee on Resolutions—Maguire, Passaic; McGarry, of Union; Toff, ot

Middlesex.

Committee on Ways and Means— Dammann, of Union; Ufert, of Hudson; Schmidt, of Færgen.

Committee on Press and Literature— Campbell, of Hudson: Maguire, of Pas-sale; and Pankopf, of Hudson.

Auditing Committee - Magnet; of Essex; Bleasby, of Hudson; and Emory, of Passale.

Smcretary's Report

FINANCIAL REP	ORT.	
RECEIPTS:		
Essex County, dues	\$144	01
Union County, dues		
Passaic County, dues		OH
Berger County, dues		81
Cumberland County, dues.		0
Middlesex Councy, dues	11	51
Camden County, dues		01
Mercer County, dues		5.
Hudson County dues	266	
Members at large, dues	6	G
Contribution	67	7:
Emblems		6
Feb. 22, 1896-Balance on	hand \$33	5.3
Total		
EXPENSES:		88
To Nat. Ex. Com., for dues	s \$355	0
To delegates of State Com.		
For agitation		144
Emblem buttons		

EXPENSIS: To Nat. Ex. Com., for dues. \$355-09 To delegates of State Com. 41-58 For agitation 169-22 Emblem buttons 49-60 Books, paintings, stationery 47-85 Express and postage 34,42	WHEREAS, Evidence of an impending industrial and political crash are accumulating on every hand, it is therefore the duty of militant Socialists to unite in solid organization; RESOLVED, That speakers for out of town meetings be under the supervision of the Secretary of the State
Total	Committee; and that branches and speakers correspond direct with sec- retary. Notice of proposed meetings to be posted two weeks previous to their
Essex County 1,640 Union County 755 Passale County 1,525	being held; RESOLVED, That speakers show their cards of membership to said sec-

Bergen County 83
Cumberland County 20

Hadson County 2,564
Members at large 57

The report was received and elerred to the Auditing Committee.

Reports of Counties.

Bergen County delegate not present.

Delegate Schmidt, of Section Carlstadt, reported progress in Bergen

County, which have nominated a full

MAX RICHTER, Secy.
MATTHEW MAGULRE, Treas.

Middlese: County

Middlese: County

Camden County

Mercer County

RESOLVED, That speakers show their cards of membership to said sec-

RESOLVED, That we indorse the stand taken by the party papers in ex-posing labor fakirs of every descrip-

On motion, the report was adopted. The Committee on Ways and Means. Report adopted.

The Committee on Press and Literature reported that their conclusions had been covered by the report of the Committee on Resolutions and Agita-

tion and Organization.

The Auditing Committee reported having made a thorough examination of the books and vouchers of the financial secretary, and had found the same correct.

THE DAILY PEOPLE \$50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to June 9th, 1897.

\$4,535.

Total

printed in the report of the proceed-ings of this convention in the Paterson "People" at an expense not to exceed \$7.

The representatives of New Jersey to the "Daily People" Committee reported that there were two separate funds to which subscriptions were invited—one a list for small sums, which now amounted to over \$1,000, and the other amounted to over \$1,000, and the other a minimum subscription of \$10, which now amounted to upwards of \$5,000. That at least \$50,000 were needed to place the "Daily People" on a self-supporting basis. The committee Inid stress on the fact that the "Daily People" when published would be entirely under the control of the party, and not as has been said under conand not, as has been said, under conof one or another publishing as-

sociation. It was resolved that the report be received and the committee continued.

Next Convention.

It was resolved that the Secretary of the State Committee issue a call for the referendum vote as to the time and place for holding the convention of

A vote of thanks was tendered the Elizabeth Comrades for the generous reception of the delegates.

After listening to short addresses by Comrades Maguire, Campbell, Herrschaft, and a neat speech by the chair-man thanking the convention for their harmony and attention, the convention. after having accepted an invitation to attend a commers after adjournment from Section Elizabeth, the convention adjourned sine die

GEORGE P. HERRSCHAFT, Sec.

* Secretary of Convention failed to send in the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

PARLIAMENTS OF LABOR.

D. A. No. 1. (CENTRAL LABOR FEDERATION OF N. Y.)

Delegate T. Retzlaff, of the United Upholsterers Union, was chairman at last Sunday's meeting of the N. Y. Central Labor Federation (D. A. No. 1, S. T. & L. A.) and delegate G. Mielenhausen, of the Eccentric Engineers No. 2, was

vice-chairman.

Credentials were received from the Bohemian Butchers' Union No. 1 and a new union, the Bohemian Prog. Typographical Union of New York. The de-legates were admitted.

The Organization Committee reported having visited the Bartenders' Union No. 1 last Friday, but that the meeting had been held earlier. The union resolved to send a committee to the German Walters' Union No. 1 and protest against statements made by their stelegate B. Korn. The German Walters' Union No. 1 disclaimed any responsibility for Korn's utterances not having inity for Korn's utterances not having instructed him, and resolved to support the Bartenders' Union No. 1 to the best of their ability. The report was re-ctived and the said union instructed to hold its meetings regularly hereafter.

The special committee which investi-gated the grievances against the Ind. Bohemian Bakers' Union reported, and the whole matter was referred to the Gen. Ex. B. S. T. & L. A. Ind. Bakers' Branch No. 1 reported

that the joint meeting of all the bran-ches held on May 22, elected a member of Branch No. 6 as delegate to the S. T.

They initiated 7 new members and withdrew the label from Boss Kemple, 2d avenue, bet. 88th and 89th street, because he refused to sign the contract.

was resolved to elect delegates Retzlaff, Finkenstedt, Amadi and Bohm as a committee to visit the next meeting of the joint branches and inform them that the elected delegate can only re-present Branch No. 6 at the Convention as no organization is permitted representation by proxy, and that there-

fore all other branches would be minus representation.

Bohemian Bakers' Union complained that the Independent Bakers' Branches refused to grant them labels. The delerefused to grant them labels. The delegates of other branches explained that this union must first join the Local

Executive Board before labels are Eccentric Engineers No. 3 elected a

delegate to the S. T. & L. A. Conven-tion, and initiated one member. United Upholsters' Union will hold an mportant meeting on June 16th, at 64 E. Fourth street.

German Waiters' Union No. 1 initiatd 3 new members and 3 were proposed. Carl Sahm Club elected A. Hellmann a delegate to the S. T. & L. A. Con

Furriers' Union will hold a special occting on June 12th, at 385 Bowery. Bartenders' Union No. 1 reported hav-

ing initiated 4 new members and 4 were proposed. They decided to agitate in future for new members and defend and protect the interests of the C. L. F. and S. T. & L. A. A delegate to the S. T. & L. A. Convention will be elected at the next meeting.
United Journeymen Taylors' Union

reported that a firm had proposed some sort of a bill which had been referred to the shop meeting for action

Bohemian Prog. Typographical Union recolved unanimously to join the N. Y. C. L. F. and S. T. & L. A., having recognized the fact that only through these bodies can the workingmen be emanci-It was resolved that the report be

Empire City Lodge Machinists report-

ed having elected Ed. McCormack as

The discussion of instructions to the

delegate to the S. T. & L. A. Conven-

The discussion of instructions to the C. L. F. delegates to the S. T. & L. A. Convention was then continued.

The organizations are again requested to pay the \$10 fare money for its delegate no later than Sunday. June 13th. 1897, to A. Waldinger, Financial Secretary, so as to enable the Committee of the G. E. B. to engage all berths for July 4th, 1897.

Prog. Clothing Cutters & Trimmers. The regular session of the above union was held Thursday in 64 East Fourth street.

Communications were received from communications were received from the "Wolkszeitung" and the United He-brew Trades: the Secretary was in-structed to answer the first, and a com-mittee was appointed to get further information from the above central body was the action on the second. The report of delegate to D. A. 19 was

necepted.
Instructions were given to the delegate to the National Convention of the
S. T. & L. A., further instructions will
be given next week.
At the next session, Thursday, June

ioth, the first nomination of officers will take place and all members should attend.

THE SECRETARY.

NAILED AGAIN.

Kurzenknabe and his Strumpet Editor, Yawcop Franz, Once More Strapped on the Pillory. Although the mendacity and char-

reed no further comprobation, we shall strap them once more to the pillory post for the general benefit of the labor movement by the publication of the following two letters that tell their own

ERNEST BOHM TO JOHN FENNEL. COUNSELOR AT LAW.

New York, May 29th, 1897. Mr. John Fennell, Stewart Building, Room 107, N. Y.:— My-Dear Sir:—In this week's "Brauer Zeitung," dated St. Louis, Mo., May 29, 1897, a marked copy of which please find

enclosed, it is stated; "A few days previous to the beginning of the trial, Kurzenknabe's attorney, Mr. Wagner, reported 'to his client that Lawyer Fennel, Boelm'a attorney, had informed him Boehm was willing to discontinue the case,"

This certainly is a bare-faced and deliberate lie as I rever had any such

deliberate lie, as I never had any such desire, and could not therefore make

any such request.

A statement as to the faisity of the "Brauer Zeitung's" claim seems necessary, and I owe it to my constituents to so fully and publicly declare.

I would therefore request you to certify to the correctness of my state-ment, to wit, that I never, from December, 1895, to the date of the trial, conveyed to you in any form a desire to discontinue the suit.

Is continue the suit.

I desire to have this fact published in the New York "Volks-Zeitung" and THE PEOPLE, and would ask that this letter and your certificate be returned to be Your and The People of the New York and Your Control of the York and Your Control of the York and York a to me. Yours very truly, ERNEST BOHM.

JOHN FENNEL. COUNSELOR AT LAW, TO ERNEST BOHM. New York, June 1st, 1897. Ernest Bohm, Esq., 25 Eust 4th street,

Dear Sir:-Yours of the 29th ult., en-

closing copy of the "Brauer-Zeitung," bearing that date, received. It is a fact that you did not, from December, 1895, to the close of the trial, or at any other time, convey to me, or to any other person, so far as I know or can learn, any desire or suggestion that your suit against Kurzenknabe be discontinued. Any statement to the enect that I at any time informed Mr. Wagener, or any other person, that you were willing to discontinue that suit is a silly falsehood. The statement that the sympathies of the jury were played the sympathics of the jury were played than is unjust to you and unfair to the continued. Any statement to the effect upon is unjust to you and unfair to the jury. In the first place, the jurors were carefully examined by myself as to their acquaintance with any of the parties or connection with any brewing industry; and, secondly, Mr. Wagener went so far as to examine the jurors touching their acquaintance with me. Neither side challenged a single juror, although each side had six peremptory challenges, and could have dismissed any six jurors without giving any reason. The jury plainly understood that w were not playing on their sympathies, but demanded a verdict as a matter or right and justice; in my very last words
I cautioned the jury that we were not in quest of money, but for vindication of character, and that the case must be determined upon the jurors' belief in your integrity or want of it. I have said so much, because the verdict of impartial jurors accepted by both parties, has been called into question. Those jurors had been improperly told that you must satisfy them by a pre-ponderance of the evidence of your entire innocence, although the rule of law is that the person publishing the libel has the burden of establishing its truth. In at least that respect Kurzen-knabe had a trial under more favorable auspices than the law entitled him to. Respectfully,

JOHN FENNEL

Trades and Societies Calendar.

Carl Sahm Club (Musicians Union) Meetings every Tuesday at 16 a, B., at East 4th street, New York Labor Lycen Business Secretary: Frei.

Central Labor Federation of New Yest 18, T. & L. A., D. A. No. 1). Mar-at 2.30 every Sunday afternoon at 64 East street, New York City. All bonn-fide trade and labor Unions should be represented. Co-nications are to be sent to the corresponden-secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 East 4th street New York City.

Cigarmakers' Progressive Internation
Union No. 90. Office and Euppeymenter is 4 East 4th street.—District 1 the mian), 224 East 7 ist street, every Saturday at meets every Saturday at 18 De m.—District II German), at 218 Forest in meets every Saturday at 18 De m.—District II of meets at 1527 avenue A, every Saturday at m.—District IV, meets at 342 West 4 and attrevery Saturday at 8 De m.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at 1422 2nd avenue at 8 De m.—

Empire City Lodge (Machinists), mee Lyceum, 64 East 4th street

German Waiters' Union of New York Office: 385 howers, Union Hall, let floor Meetings every Friday, at 4 p. m. Board a supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p. at the same hall.

the hall of "Essex County Socialist Club," T Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J.

Upholsterers' Union of New York as Vicinity. Meets 2d and 4th Thesis evening at the Labor Lycenn, 6t East 4th 8 Secretary, Carl Anders, 27 East 3rd street.

WORKMEN'S Furniture Fire Insurance.

Organized 1872. Membership 19,000. Principal Organization, New York and Vicinity.

OFFICE: 64 E. 4th St. OFFICE BOYES, daily, except Sundays and holidays, from 1 to 9 o'clock P. M.
BRANCIES: Youkers, Troy, Binghamton, Gloversville, Elmira, N. Y.
Paterson, Newark, Elizabeth, South River Passale, N. J.

Passair, N. J., Boston, Holyoke, Mass. New Haven and Waterbury, Conn. Luzern and Altonia, Pa.

Arbeiter Kranken- und Sterbe-Kasse für die Ver. Staaten von Amerika. WORKMEN'S

Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the

United States of America.

The above society was founded in the year 18% by workingmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and accidate thought. Its immerical strength safe present composed of 139 local branches with more than 1,000 male members is rapidly increasing among workingmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workingmen between it and 65 years of age may be admitted to membership in any of the branches, upon payment of a deposit of \$4.00 for the first class and \$5.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are usualled to a sick beausit of \$9.00 for 40 weeks and of \$4.50 for another 40 weeks welser continuous position in the continuous of the continuous position of \$4.00 for the second class roceive under the same circumstances and longth of time \$4.00 and \$5.00 respectively. A burial benefit of \$25.00 is granted for every member, and the wives and unmarried daughters of unmakers between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to the burial benefit upon payment of aleposit for \$1.00. Mionthly tates are levited according to expenditures. In cities and towns where me tranch exists, a new branch can be formed by a sorkingmen in good health, and men address the above named principles are invited to due.

Address all communications to Heren Wankfriancial feoretary, 25—27 3rd Ave., Boom \$5, Envitor City. United States of America.

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Orders will be taken at 116 E. 8th street, betw Avenue A and First Ave., New York City. 167 I. Goldmann's Printing Office,

cor. New Chambers and William Sts. works Type Selting Machines. German and Kuelish.

Boston, Mass.

THE PROPLE is for sale at the following Brigham's Restaurant, Washington St. Cohen's Book Store, Washington St. on the Bright.

Croasdell's Store, Harrison avenue, sest

Charter Competition.

Notice to Competitors, All competitors for Award on Charler of Socialist Labor party can have their drawings returned by sending to the undersigned their "noms de plume" 224 correct name and address on or before July 15th, 1897. By order of the Committee,

A. C. KIHN, See'y.
371 Eighth street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

S. L. P. Sections take Notice. The well-known and inspiring sons. written by comrade Peter E. Burrowell of Brooklyn, under the title "The Hand with the Hammer," has been to new and beautiful music by the Rus-sian composer Platen Brounoff, and can now be had at the Labor News Co.

The price for single copies is 10 cents, but a liberal discount will be given be dealers, encouraging them to push the sale of the song.

No section of the party should fall to form a charge and the song.

to form a chorus and sing this some at their public meetings and other public demonstrations.

The LABOR NEWS CO., 64 East 4th street, N. T.

Section Essex County, S. L. P., meets

Skandinavian Section, S. L. P. Mee 2nd and 4th Sunday of every month at o'clock a. m., at Schuler's Hall, 231-232 East St., New York City. Subscription orders take for the Seand, Socialist Weekly, SCAND, ARRIGAREN.

Socialist Science Club. Meets at Webber Hall, 1991 Street and 3rd avenue, every is and 3rd friday at 8 F. M. Also Free Lecture every Sunday might, 739 F. M., preceded by entertainment at same Hall.